

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 13040 01 OF 02 171157Z

47

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-05 EB-11 OMB-01 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-14

COME-00 CIEP-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 NIC-01 ACDA-19 DRC-01 /157 W
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R 171145Z AUG 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4480

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 13040

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, PL, XH

SUBJECT: FRG/POLISH RELATIONS AND THE STATE OF
OSTPOLITIK

SUMMARY: THE LETTER WHICH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT SENT TO
GIEREK IN LATE JULY HAS NOT ONLY FAILED TO PAVE THE WAY
FOR AN EARLY IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN BONN AND
WARSAW; IT HAS PROBABLY EVEN DEEPEINED THE IMPASSE
ARISING FROM CONFLICTING VIEWPOINTS WITH REGARD TO
GERMAN COMPENSATION PAYMENTS AND POLISH PERMISSION FOR
ETHNIC GERMANS TO EMIGRATE. THE FRG FONOFF, AT ANY
RATE, DOES NOT EXPECT SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN THE LATTER
PART OF THIS YEAR. THE DIFFICULTIES WITH POLAND ARE TO
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PAGE 02 BONN 13040 01 OF 02 171157Z

A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT SUI GENERIS AND DO NOT NECESSARILY

PRESAGE A PERIOD OF STAGNATION IN OTHER AREAS OF OST-POLITIK. THEY DO, HOWEVER, CONSTITUTE A REAFFIRMATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S RATHER TOUGH POSITION AGAINST ANY FURTHER ATTEMPTS TO BUY CONCESSIONS FROM EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES. THE GENERAL FEELING IN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT ABOUT OSTPOLITIK SEEMS TO BE THAT PROGRESS WILL DEPEND ON THE OVERALL ATMOSPHERE (PRIMARILY DETERMINED BY THE ATTITUDE AND WISHES OF THE SOVIET UNION) BUT THAT, EVEN ASSUMING AN IMPROVEMENT IN THIS ATMOSPHERE FOLLOWING THE CESSATION OF INTERFERENCE ON THE BERLIN TRANSIT ROUTES, THIS PROGRESS WILL BE UNSPECTACULAR AND SLOW. END SUMMARY.

1. IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF, THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE FONOFF'S EASTERN EUROPEAN DIVISION, ARNOT, DESCRIBED THE STATE OF FRG/POLISH RELATIONS IN RATHER BLEAK TERMS. THE CHANCELLOR'S LETTER, HE SAID, WAS A RESPONSE TO THE SO-CALLED "FRELEK PAPER" OF LAST APRIL. IT WAS A RESPONSE THAT THE GERMANS WOULD HAVE PREFERRED NOT TO GIVE AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL BUT WHICH WAS EVENTUALLY FORCED OUT OF THEM BY POLISH INSISTENCE THAT THE FRG TAKE A STAND ON THE PROPOSALS TRANSMITTED BY FRELEK TO THEN CHANCELLOR BRANDT.

2. IN HIS LETTER TO GIEREK, SCHMIDT REAFFIRMED THE FRG'S DESIRE TO SOLVE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS AND TO EXPAND FRG/POLISH COOPERATION ON THE BASIS OF THE DECEMBER 1970 TREATY. HE MADE CLEAR THAT THE FRG'S EARLIER OFFER (A ONE BILLION DM CREDIT AT A SUBSIDIZED INTEREST RATE IN RETURN FOR POLICH AGREEMENT TO PERMIT 250,000 ETHNIC GERMANS TO EMIGRATE DURING THE PERIOD OF 1974 TO 76) REMAINED ON THE TABLE. APART FROM AN INDICATION THAT THE INTEREST RATE WAS NEGOTIABLE, SCHMIDT DID NOT ENLARGE THE FRG OFFER IN ANY WAY.

3. ARNOT SAID THAT, IN ORDER TO UNDERLINE THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION AND DISCOURAGE ILLUSIONARY THINKING ON THE PART OF THE POLES, SPD CHAIRMAN BRANDT HAD SENT A SHORTER LETTER TO GIEREK AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME IN WHICH HE TOO REAFFIRMED THE FRG'S POSITION. ARNOT COM-
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PAGE 03 BONN 13040 01 OF 02 171157Z

MENTED THAT IT WAS VERY NECESSARY TO DO THIS SINCE POLISH MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE ACTUAL SITUATION WITHIN THE FRG GOVERNMENT AND THE SPD HAD CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO THE PRESENT UNFORTUNATE SITUATION. EVER SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, THE POLES HAD GONE ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE WAS AN OBSTACLE TO BE CIRCUMVENTED AND THAT IF THEY COULD ONLY DEAL WITH THE RIGHT PEOPLE IN THE SPD AND GET THE

MESSAGE THROUGH PARTY CHANNELS TO THE CHANCELLOR, THE FRG WOULD QUICKLY COME AROUND. FRELEK'S VISIT TO BRANDT HAD BEEN DESIGNED FOR THIS PURPOSE, AS WERE THE FREQUENT POLISH CONTACTS WITH HERBERT WEHNER (AND A FEW OTHERS IN THE SPD BUNDESTAG FRAKTION).

4. THESE POLISH CONTACTS GREW OUT OF A PROFOUND MIS-UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION, ARNOT SAID. IT WAS TRUE THAT WEHNER, AT DIFFERENT TIMES AND IN A VARIETY OF WAYS, PLEADED FOR MORE RAPID MOVEMENT IN THE EASTERN

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PAGE 01 BONN 13040 02 OF 02 171159Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 13040

POLICY AND FOR A GREATER PREPAREDNESS ON THE PART OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO MAKE CONCESSIONS. WHILE WEHNER WAS NOT WITHOUT INFLUENCE, THAT INFLUENCE COULD, IN PARTICULAR CASES, BE VASTLY OVERRATED, AND THIS WAS PARTICULARLY TRUE UNDER THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THIS WOULD BE CLEAR TO THE POLES NOW THAT THE CHANCELLOR HIMSELF, WITH BRANDT'S BACKING, HAD CLEARED THE AIR. THE UNFORTUNATE PART OF IT WAS THAT GERMAN/POLISH RELATIONS WERE NOW CHARACTERIZED BY TWO IRRECONCILABLE POSITIONS, ON THE MOST IMPORTANT OUTSTANDING ISSUES NOW FACING THE TWO COUNTRIES, WHICH HAD BEEN FIRMLY STATED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. JUST HOW IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR
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PAGE 02 BONN 13040 02 OF 02 171159Z

EITHER SIDE, WITHOUT LOSS OF FACE, TO BACK AWAY FROM THIS CONFRONTATION WAS NOT CLEAR TO ARNOT. FOR THAT REASON HE ASSUMED THAT THERE WOULD NOW BE A RATHER LONG PAUSE BEFORE ANY FURTHER MOVES WERE MADE. IT WAS PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT A GIEREK VISIT TO THE FRG THIS YEAR WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION.

5. WITH NO OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES (EXCEPT THE GDR AND THE USSR) ARE THE FRG'S RELATIONS SO COMPLICATED. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE RELATIONS WILL UNQUESTIONABLY MOVE AHEAD ON A VARIETY OF FRONTS--E.G., CULTURAL EXCHANGES AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION. A GREAT VARIETY OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WILL CONTINUE TO BE CONCLUDED. ALL OF THIS ACTIVITY, HOWEVER, TO THE EXTENT THAT IT IS FAVORABLE TOWARDS THE GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF BONN'S TIES TO EASTERN EUROPE, WILL BE UNSPECTACULAR AND PROBABLY QUITE SLOW. THERE IS, SO FAR AS WE CAN TELL, NO SIGNIFICANT DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURE IN THE FRG FOR A REVIVAL OF THE BAHR SPIRIT IN THE PURSUIT OF SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS OF EASTERN POLICY--I.E., A SPIRIT OF URGENCY IN WHICH STALEMATE IS UNACCEPTABLE AND IN WHICH SOLUTIONS MUST BE FOUND IF AT ALL POSSIBLE.

6. ONE FEATURE COMMON TO PRESENT DAY EASTERN POLICY AND TO THE EARLIER VERSION, HOWEVER, IS THE CONVICTION, WHICH MOST OF OUR CONTACTS CONTINUE TO FEEL RATHER STRONGLY, THAT THE OVERALL ATMOSPHERE, AS DETERMINED BY THE BEHAVIOR OF THE USSR AND THE GDR, WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE A DECISIVE INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRG'S RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE AS A WHOLE. IN THIS CONNECTION, IT IS WORTH NOTING CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S COMMENTS IN HIS AUGUST 14 INTERVIEW WITH DIE WELT (CF. BONN 12856). SPEAKING OF THE COOLNESS OF HIS OWN REACTION TO THE GDR'S INTERFERENCE WITH ACCESS ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES TO BERLIN, SCHMIDT MADE CLEAR THAT IN HIS VIEW THE "CONCRETE ENVIRONMENT" IN WHICH OSTPOLITIK

TAKES PLACE IS NOW DIFFERENT FROM WHAT IT WAS UNDER
THE CHANCELLORSHIP OF BRANDT. WHILE SCHMIDT DID NOT
OVERSTRESS THIS POINT, IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT HE WANTED
TO ESTABLISH THE POINT THAT DETENTE IS A TWO-WAY STREET
AND THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES
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PAGE 03 BONN 13040 02 OF 02 171159Z

IN BRINGING IT TO FULFILLMENT IS AS DEPENDENT ON THEIR
OWN ACTIONS AND POLICIES AS IT IS ON THOSE OF THE FRG
AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES.
HILLENBRAND

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